

IMPACT OF INDIA'S ASSISTANCE ON THE STATE-BUILDING PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN (2001-2014)

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ABSTRACT

State-building is the process of establishing and strengthening the institutions essential for the smooth functioning of government and necessary for economic, social, and political development. The state-building process in Afghanistan has been severely affected by wars, terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, tyranny, and dictatorships. After 9/11 and the Bonn agreement in 2001, a serious need for state-building was deemed necessary for a durable solution to the issue in Afghanistan. India contributed to the state-building process in Afghanistan in the last two decades. India has become an important international player in peace-building, institutional-building, and security in South Asia. India is the fifth-largest bilateral donor country (behind the US, Japan, UK, and Germany) and has long-term development programmes after three decades of wars in Afghanistan. India realized that a stable, prosperous, and democratic Afghanistan is its strategic interest. Moreover, India had an effective role in the political, security, economic and institutional rebuilding process in Afghanistan. However, this paper aims at analysing the role and impacts of India's assistance on the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014. The paper employs a qualitative method for data collection; The paper is divided into three sections: The first section provides a brief historical overview of India-Afghanistan relations. The second section evaluates and analyse the role and impacts of India's assistance in the state-building process in Afghanistan. The third section would recommend and conclude the study.

KEYWORDS: India, Afghanistan, State-Building, Assistance, Impact

INTRODUCTION

The main functions of the state are the security of citizens, justice, public service, mobilization of resources, and infrastructure development, which need strong state institutions, but Afghanistan lacks such institutions. It is a war-affected and landlocked country, constantly dependent upon foreign aid and assistance from different donor countries, including India. Even Afghanistan needed India's support in the region. India established Chabahar port in cooperation with Iran so that Afghanistan could engage in free foreign trade through the sea with the rest of the world. Its institutions were destroyed. Therefore, there is a serious need for a state-building process in Afghanistan which was started immediately thereafter the demise of the Taliban government in 2001. The Bonn Agreement, signed on December 5, 2001, was the beginning of the state-building initiative in this war-torn country. It gives way to the influx of refugees, the building of democracy, creation of Loya Jirga, constitutional development, the holding of presidential and parliamentary elections, establishment and restructuring of civil services, armed forces, police, courts, hospitals, educational institutes, drugs eradication, and rehabilitation agencies, women rights, economic stability, new currency, and social welfare programs, etc. There was a serious

need for foreign assistance in this regard. Like many other countries, India has also provided social-economic and political assistance to the Afghan people for its reconstruction, peace process, development, and security (Hanif, 2018).

The channelling of foreign Indian assistance to domestic priorities supports institutional development and accelerated economic development, thus playing a relevant role in the state-building process in Afghanistan. State-building or institution-building entails the process of strengthening existing institutions, requiring long-term stability, including the legislature, executive, judiciary, armed forces, police, education, treasury, transport, telecommunication, health, and many others, control and administer the state (Global Development, 2013). Important to note that foreign aid serves as a tool of state-building to advance developmental and non-developmental goals, including policy implementations, counter-terrorism, stability, the establishment of institutions, the development of natural resources, and democratization. It should also be noted that Its size and structure depend on the economic and political condition of the donor state.

In other words, this process has initiated international involvement to refine a fragile or deteriorating country by strengthening its existing institution and creating new

institutions. It means establishing such institutions in the country through which the state can be strengthened and could function effectively. Power should be allocated to the state institutions as per the constitution to ensure fewer chances of functional overlapping and result in good governance. Moreover, state-building is intended to reduce poverty, security threats, and frangibility to regional and global security created by terrorism, proxy wars, organized crimes, mass migration, illegal trade, extremism, sectarianism, and other types of violent conflicts. (Karimi, 2012).

Concerning Afghanistan's state-building efforts since 2001, the process was initiated, and many state institutions have been installed through foreign aid that includes, Loia Jarga (Parliament), drafting of the constitution, presidency, judiciary, central bank, civil service, armed forces, police, educational institutions, humanitarian aid agencies, hospitals, Central Poppy Eradication Force (CPEF), Counter-Narcotics Directorate (CND), Provincial Councils (PC), Provincial Governor's Offices, District governments, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), Communication and Agriculture Department, etc. The post-conflict improvement course is a complex range of peace-building milestones in Afghanistan. States move through these milestones at various paces and with different degrees of risk of backsliding into conflict (Ndikumana, 2015).

There are many other works that highlight several aspects of state-building in Afghanistan, providing good reference materials on aid to Afghanistan and India's policy towards Kabul since 2001. Therefore, there is a need to highlight India's role in Afghanistan from 2001-2014 and address the question; what is the impact of India's assistance in the state-building process in Afghanistan? This study attempts to explore the impacts of India's assistance on the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2001-2014. Still, state-building in Afghanistan has not been successful despite a huge amount of foreign aid, and its benefits are not transferred at the grass-root level. Afghanistan still needs assistance as a fragile state for it to function effectively.

The present study tries to evaluate how India plays a role in the state-building process in Afghanistan, analyse India's assistance in reconstruction, peace process, and security, and its impacts on state-building from 2001 to 2014. Finally, the current study provides possible recommendations for the state-building process in Afghanistan.

THEORITICAL DISCUSSION

A review of the relevant literature indicates that a fragile state is the main source of problems in terms of world order and economic and political development in developing nations. For instance, Fukuyama points out that a weak and

fragile government is a source of challenge for the international community (Fukuyama, 2004). Similarly, Rubin argues that state-building is a serious need in Afghanistan, but this is not an easy task but rather a very complex phenomenon. Many states played and are still playing their role in it. (Rubin, 2006) explains that sustainable peace, stability, and democratization, need international assistance and coordinated efforts of international actors involved in Afghanistan to strengthen the organisations working for the reconstruction of the state. A study by Witter (2016) argued that state-building in Afghanistan, as it formerly conceptualised, appears like a farce, mainly because the American-backed Afghan government is neither capable of governing the country nor yet proficient enough to push back the militants. Likewise, Bizhan (2018) argues that state-building is a major challenge in a failed state like Afghanistan as it is a neo-patrimonial state with domestic politics characterized by elite fragmentation, and most of the aid used through NGOs had dire consequences for state-building. Like other countries, India has also played a role in the state-building of Afghanistan since 2001. (Afzal,2021) stated that after removing the Taliban from political power in late 2001, the International Community and the government of Afghanistan pledged to promote the state-building process in Afghanistan. As argued by (Hanif2019), India's contributions in the fields of peace-building, reconstruction, security, education, health, communication, economic assistance, and humanitarian assistance have been playing a significant role in the restoration of Afghanistan. India is the fifth country in the international community to support the state-building process in Afghanistan.

Moreover, more than three decades of civil war and ethnic conflicts have deteriorated government institutions and infrastructures and led to a fragile state. However, in 2001, Afghanistan had a very good chance to restore peace and stability to promote economic growth and enhance the political development process in the country by the help of international communities and India in particular or to be precise.

OBJECTIVES

This paper has two main objectives

- (1) To examine the extent to which Afghanistan spent or utilized the resources given to it by the Indian government.
- (2) To investigate the impact of this assistance on the state-building process in Afghanistan.

METHODOLOGY

The present study has two main points: Firstly, to overview the history of Indo-Afghan relations, especially post-9/11. Secondly, the impact of India's assistance on the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2001-2014. The study has been conducted on the recognized design for social sciences; The

present research employs analytical and descriptive methods for data collection. The first section is a literature review and a comprehensive overview of India-Afghanistan relations; the second section evaluates and analyses the role and impact of India's assistance in the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2001-2014. Finally, the findings formed the conclusion of the study. To conduct this research study, data was collected from secondary sources, including research articles, books, reports, and official documents. The timeframe of this study is from 2001 to 2014.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

State-building has several forms when it comes to the theories of International Relations. This includes liberal, neoliberal, democratic, humanitarian, etc. For the purpose of this study, the paper employs liberal theory in analysing this study. Since the early 1990s, the international community has been increasingly adopting liberal state-building as part of a wider liberal peacebuilding strategy for addressing the plethora of problems facing post-conflict societies (Chandler 2006; Chesterman 2005; Kostic´ 2007; MacGinty 2006; Paris 2004). In that sense, liberal state-building is viewed as a peacebuilding measure with the aim to construct or reconstruct the institutions of governance capable of providing citizens with physical and economic security (cf. Paris 2004; Richmond 2006).¹ One of the guiding assumptions has been that the presence of strong state institutions would facilitate macro-economic growth and provide economic and societal security for its citizens (Paris 2004).² Such measures, in combinations with strong state institutions and functioning infrastructure, are supposed to bring economic well-being that would, in return, strengthen the legitimacy of the state among its citizens by means of democratic elections, thus bringing about political moderation and societal integration in previously fragmented societies (Paris 2004).

INDIA-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS : POST 9/11

Afghanistan and India share a long history of cultural and societal ties. India's engagement with Afghanistan has become multidimensional since 2001. From Indian viewpoint, the relevant issue in its Afghan ties is Pakistan which incorrigibly frames any kind of Indian engagement in Afghanistan as a threat. Depending on the degree of cooperation, New Delhi– Kabul relations can be studied through three stages: The first step commence with India's freedom in 1947 and last at the end of the Cold War. Afghanistan-Pakistan region dconflict in involving Pashtunistan and the Durand Line, brought New Delhi and Kabul closer. During this phase, India enjoyed amicable relations with Afghanistan during the Soviet intervention between 1979–89. India's partners with the Soviet Union and the Cold War India has taken a role in Soviet intervention, which affected India's image among the Afghans and the West. The second step end the Cold War in 1991 and

ended the Taliban regime was overthrown in 2001. India had troubling relations with Afghanistan this marked by civil war, and terrorism. India's influence fluctuated, waning with the ouster of the Najibullah regime and temporarily rising when Burhanuddin Rabbani's regime ruled from 1992 to 96. However, when Pakistan take over power they supported the Taliban regime in 1996, and New Delhi's influence in Afghanistan was eclipsed by Islamabad. This period also saw India provide support to Northern Alliance group comprising mostly Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras. Significant to note that Russia and Iran also supported the Northern Alliance. The space vacated by India on both occasions was manipulated by Pakistan's security establishment to implement its policy of "strategic depth," a concept that has led Islamabad to treat Afghanistan as its backyard. During the second phase, India faced increased challenges from Pakistan's "deep state" on the Kashmir front as well. As underlined by Ayesha Jalal, "The tactic of pushing battle-hardened militants from Afghanistan across LOC to wage a low-intensity war against Indian security forces in Kashmir was designed to keep the subcontinent's most contentious dispute in the international gaze."

The third phase begin with the displacement of Taliban government in 2001. This marked the beginning of new bilateral ties with Afghanistan. India emerged as the most important regional power, investing in Afghanistan. Since 2001 and has provided \$2 billion as aid and has pledged another \$1 billion. As Afghanistan's stability is considered important for India's own security, New Delhi has been supportive of the spread of democratic institutions in Afghanistan, which is battered by decades of conflict and instability. This article maps out the dynamics of Indo-Afghan relations after 2014.

PROSPECTS OF INDIA'S ASSISTANCE TO THE STATE –BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN

In war-affected and fragile states like Afghanistan, usually, peace, stability, and development are not taking place because of the existence of weak or failed state institutions, and that is the case of Afghanistan. When institutions become weak, then it leads to the failure of the state, and its citizens become vulnerable to insecurity, poverty, humanitarian crises, terrorism, diseases, political instability, and economic upheaval. Development and restoration of peace and stability are not taking place mainly because of poor state institutions. The state-building process was weakened by many factors, including terrorism, corruption, immobilization of important segments of society like women, middle and lower-middle classes, mobilization of the elite class, a weak economy, local political culture, informal governance model, complex tribal society, warlordism, social evils like sexual exploitation of children, religious fundamentalism and some conservative cultural values. These were the causes mainly responsible for weakening state-

building in Afghanistan. Insurgency also posed threats and hampered the state-building process in Afghanistan. Foreign Aid can achieve excellent results in fragile and war-affected states like Afghanistan (Chandy, 2011). State institutions in Afghanistan were weak. Therefore, the state-building process was very slow, but it is heartening to note that it has improved significantly in the last few years.

According to Gisselquist, state-building commonly involves strengthening the capacity, authority, and legitimacy of the state concerned (Gisselquist, 2014). The economic stability of any state is the prerequisite for state-building, including Afghanistan. Without economic development, no state can fulfill the dream of state-building. The economic structure of Afghanistan totally collapsed. The economy was mostly illegal and informal, and many important segments, like women's role in economic development and social status, were totally excluded. The role of women cannot be neglected in any society, including Afghanistan. The polarized nature of Afghan society due to tribal tradition, conservative cultural values, and religious extremism deprived them of participating in the country's socio-economic development. Their position was the worst in the world and was considered the most deprived segment of society during the era of the Taliban regime, but since 2001 role of women has been acknowledged and improved. Depriving women of working and restricting their social mobility also cripple the impoverished economy of Afghanistan. After the occupation, the US paid appropriate attention to words retailing the economy of Afghanistan. Currently, this country is getting only 50 dollars per person per year of aid, of which 20 dollars are contributed by the United States (Dobbins, 2008). Afghanistan is a war-torn and fragile country that needs several reforms and development initiatives to help the country move towards self-reliance and become a peaceful, stable, and progressive country. Gradually developing from years of wars and annihilation, the country needs the extraordinary attention of key donors and its neighbours to recover and build what it has lost in continuous wars. In the Bonn conference, which was the first consultation about the future planning of Afghanistan, governmental setup, peace restoration, and reconstruction of the state, a joint statement on regional stability and peace was issued, expressing the necessity of a stable, peaceful, and secure Afghanistan for creating a safe region (Khan & Hanif, 2019). Participants attending the Bonn conference identified that foreign aid is crucial for the reconstruction of Afghanistan to end the cycle of bloodshed, and terrorism and to convert the extremely brutal and underdeveloped state into a stable and prosperous state. The international community was also called upon to contribute in this regard. Being a neighbour, Pakistan is well-aware of her job and, thus, has extended aid and all other possible assistance for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Since 2001 Islamabad is also giving economic and technical aid and

support to Kabul for rehabilitation, reconstruction, development, and improving the capacity of state institutions. Under the Planning Commission of Pakistan, Afghanistan's planning cell was established to assist and evaluate projects designed for Afghanistan (Planning Commission Report, 2007).

The developmental assistance of India to Afghanistan has reached 5 billion dollars till now, invested in infrastructure development, health, security, education, agriculture sectors, and capacity building of professionals of Afghanistan (The Nation, June 15, 2018). The Indian government announced \$5 million in developmental aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan at the Tokyo International conference in 2002, showing commitment to helping the state confront violence and destruction for a long (Daily Dawn, February 2, 2002). All such programs aimed to encourage and promote durable development and develop infrastructure in Afghanistan. India's assistance played a vital role in the progress of Afghanistan and will definitely improve the communication infrastructure, which is badly affected due to the ongoing war. Another key aspect concerning state-building is the financial stability of Afghanistan to make a stable state and protect it from failing again. Foreign trade is a key source of economic development for any country, but it is not permanent. Afghanistan needs to build its own economic sources. As Afghanistan is a landlocked state dependent on neighbours for its foreign trade with the rest of the world. (Hasan, 1964).

Peace is very necessary for state-building in Afghanistan. to gain momentum and restore peace and stability, India pledged to facilitate, help and support the course of reconciliation. The stability of the state of Afghanistan is primarily dependent on the potential of the Afghan armed forces, police, and other security and law enforcement agencies. Although in June 2013, NATO handed over the security of the whole country to the Afghan security forces, still its capacity and capability need improvement. State-building efforts in Afghanistan are a very complicated phenomenon and are facing many challenges. Despite the continuous efforts of the international community since 2001, the situation still remains very bad. Still, it needs much more coordinated efforts of the international community, but it seems that the current efforts of state-building by the international community will decline as the US finally decided to withdraw from Afghanistan. Likewise, human welfare is also necessary. It is among the main function of the modern state. The establishment of the health system, education, access to basic needs, etc., is in its early phase in Afghanistan. These things are necessary for a quality and healthy life. All donors, including India, especially the neighbours of Afghanistan, are required to help more in this regard. Even no matter both for-profit and not-for-profit bases but its provision are too much necessary. Such projects can be implemented by the public-private partnership also. Due to continuous war, many

people need humanitarian aid and assistance to start a new life. "Housing is also a serious issue as more than five million returnees in the country are suffering from this problem (Khan & Hanif, 2019).

Afghanistan needs self-reliance. Now than never so far as self-reliance and getting rid of aid dependency, Afghanistan needs to focus on Agriculture as 60% of its population is working in this sector. Secondly, more attention is required to be paid to the education sector. Most notably, the people of Afghanistan must come out of the mindset of the war economy. In this way, it is possible to establish a society that is self-sustaining and has a resilient economy not dependent on foreign aid. The table below shows a cursory survey of numerous assistance provided by different countries and financial institutions to Afghanistan at the 2002 Tokyo conference.

Table 1 :Countries' Aid to Afghanistan at the 2002 Tokyo Conference

No	Name of Countries Donor	Amount of Aid	Year
1	United State of America	297 million US Dollars	2002
2	Japan	500 million US Dollars	2002
3	European Union	500 million US Dollars	2002
4	World Bank	550 million US Dollars	2004
5	India	500 million US Dollars	2006
6	Saudi Arabian	220 million US Dollars	2004

Source: Fasihi, Abolfazl. (2014). State building: role of the international community in the formation of a new state in Afghanistan. Amiri publication, Kabul-Afghanistan. p.158

https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/afghanistan/tokyo_conference_2012/summary.html

THE IMPACT OF INDIA'S ASSISTANCE ON STATE-BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN

India has a collective commitment of the international community to words achieving and preserving the integrity and prosperity of Afghanistan in the last two decades. A peaceful Afghanistan is in India's interest, as also in the interests of the region and the World. The destruction Afghanistan faced in the 1990s needs a total reconstruction of a war-torn. India as a close friend has sought to play its role in this effort. India's expanding partnership with Afghanistan has grown into multi-sectoral activities in all parts of Afghanistan. India's reconstruction and developmental programmes in Afghanistan are in concurrence with the priorities of the Afghan Government and people.

INDIA'S ASSISTANCE TO AFGHAN ON RECOGNITION

India's Assistance for Afghan Reconstruction India has reason to ted a "soft power" approach in post-Taliban Afghanistan by taking responsibility for various program sections and developmental programmes. India has built the Afghan Parliament building and funded the construction of the

Afghan-India Friendship Dam, to name just two highly visible development projects sponsored by New Delhi. India's assistance to Afghanistan also extends to the rebuilding of air links and power plants and investing in the health and education sectors. India helps in training Afghan civil servants, diplomats, and police personnel. Operating India has been operating an open policy to the Afghan people by facilitating cooperation in diverse fields. Thousands of Afghans visit India annually for tourism, medical care, and education. Even former President Hamid Karzai chose an Indian hospital to deliver his third child. (Singh,2014) India has allowed Afghan government telecommunication to operate through Indian satellites. Although, the government maintains that economic assistance to Afghanistan is for infrastructural development and capacity building, which is mainly driven by India's geopolitical interests in Afghanistan. India has two major strategic objectives in Afghanistan, which it seeks to achieve through aid. First, India does not want the re-emergence and reassertion of the fundamentalist brand of political Islam as represented by the Taliban. Second, India does not want Pakistan to achieve „strategic depth“ in Afghanistan and exploit its advantage to harm India“ security interests. Both nations have developed strategic and military cooperation against Islamists and terrorists. And India's non-interference policy stance has yielded a rich geopolitical dividend for India as opinion polls have suggested that Afghans have a very positive perception of India compared to any other country. Intensification of civilian cooperation also means stronger trade and investment links. Afghanistan is a landlocked country that has been dependent on Chabahar port for access to the sea. This advantage has given New Delhi considerable influence over Kabul that it has periodically utilized to pressure Afghan governments. But to the consternation of India, the situation changed when India-funded construction work of a 135-mile road connecting Afghanistan's Nimroz province with the Iranian port of Chabahar was completed. This project "created a new transport corridor that ends Pakistan's monopoly on seaborne transit trade to Afghanistan" (Barfield, 2010) The Zaranj-Delaram Highway connects 16 of Afghanistan's "34 provinces, stretching from Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif, Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar and to Tajikistan's Gorno-Badakhshan province. The highway creates North-South transport corridors linking the Indian sub-continent and land-locked Central Asia.

The new infrastructure enables Afghanistan to access the Arabian Sea through Iran and raises its potential to stimulate more investment from trade with outside powers like India." (Osmani,2016) In May 2016, India signed a deal with Iran and Afghanistan to develop the Chabahar port and build a transport-and-trade corridor through Afghanistan that could substantially reduce the time and cost of doing business with Europe. (Hindustan Times, 2016). India's role has thus acted as an

exertion of its “soft power.” New Delhi’s commitment to the development of Afghanistan has already crossed \$3 billion since 2001. India also agreed to extend assistance for the Afghan security forces in fighting the scourge of terrorism, crime, trafficking of narcotics and money laundering.”(Government of India, 2017) Since both India and the United States have realized that all development work is unsustainable without strong external military support to the Kabul government, it seems very reasonable to argue that India’s relationship with Afghanistan will have a strong security component. Further, the Modi government has decided to take up to 116 impact-high community development projects in 31 Afghan provinces, as decided in a meeting between the External Affairs Minister of India, Sushma Swaraj, and Afghan Foreign Minister, Salahuddin Rabbani, in New Delhi on 11 September 2017. This investment is in the areas of education, health, agriculture, irrigation, drinking water, renewable energy, flood control, micro-hydropower, sports, and infrastructure. India’s agenda is to build the Afghan state as well as security forces which will enable them to fight effectively against the Taliban and ISIS. (Kaura,2017). Table 2 below shows the construction of projects and their details which were done by the Indian government in Afghanistan.

PEACE PROCESS

One of the priorities of the state-building process in post-war societies like Afghanistan is to ensure permanent peace, establish national sovereignty and strengthen institutions and create a powerful government. The world has witnessed strong Indian ties with Afghanistan. India physically came to Afghanistan after the incident of 9/11 incident, and thereafter India played a significant role in the Reconstruction Phase of Afghanistan. (Ahmed & Bhatnagar, 2015). For two decades, India was present in all the international conferences providing financial aid and peace to Afghanistan. Unlike its poor neighbors, India committed to support Afghanistan at the Tokyo conference in January 2002. And India announced 2 billion dollars for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and became the 5th biggest donor after America, England, Japan, and Germany (Price, 2013). In 2011 India and Afghanistan reached an agreement to cooperate on different :

- . Governmental and Defense Cooperation
- 2. Commerce and Economic Collaboration
- 3. Develop the Capacities and Schooling Assistance
- 4. Communal, ethnic, and people-to-people collaboration were made necessary to eliminate the trust deficit between both countries (Price, 2013).

Table 2 : India’s Construction Project Details for Afghanistan

No	Programme/Project detail	Year	Pledged (million USD)	Actual Expenditure (million USD)	Remarks
1	Construction of 5000 MT Cold Storage at Kandahar	2003	1.5	1.5	Completed Nov 2005
2	Super Corridor: Rehabilitation of Delaram-Zaranj Road (218 km)	2003	150	125	Completed
3	Setting of Common facilities service centre at Pul-e-Charkhi Industrial Estate	2004	3.1	3.1	Completed March 2005
4	The Salma Dam Project-Feasibility study – Herat Province	2004	0.05	0.05	Completed
5	Reconstruction and completion of Salma Dam Power Project (42 MW) in Herat Province	2004	235 (1457.56 Cr Rs)	119 (897 Cr Rs)	completed
6	Restoration of Ster palace (Star Palace or ‘Kasre-star), Kabul	2005	0.01	0.01	Completed (Sep 2005-Dec 2005)
7	Rehabilitation of Amir Ghazi, Quargah Reservoir Dam	2005	0.41	0.41	Completed (Sep 2005–Dec 2006)
8	Construction of Afghanistan Parliament Building	2005	114.51	63	Completed June 2014
9	setting up 5 eco-friendly Toilet-cum-sanitation Complexes in Kabul		0.9	0.9	Completed April 2007
10	Provision of 26 tube wells in 6 provinces (8 in Herat,3 in Jawzjan, 3 in Samangan,6 in Balkh, and 6 in Baghlan) by WAPCOS	2005	1.22	1.1	Completed July 2006
11	Drilling of 24 deep wells in Herat	2003	0.9	0.9	Completed Dec- 2003
12	Restoration of Store Palace	2011	4	2	completed July 2015
		To tal	515.29	320.66	

Source: Right to Information (RTI) Query asked by Sh. Rakesh Kumar Dwivedi of Gorakhpur Sadar (UP) relating to Afghanistan, provided by Yeola, Niteen, Political Affairs Secretary, Embassy of India, Kabul (till July 2014)

India is supporting the Afghan government to maintain its influence in Afghanistan. Due to India’s strong bilateral ties

with the Afghan government, India could open its embassy in Kabul. India also opened its consulates in different cities in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a member of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation India supported Afghanistan to get its membership in SAARC. This initiative from India helped both countries to come closer (Kaur, 2017).

India divides its interests into three main categories Security, Economic, and regional desires. India has trained Afghan military officers but is never keen to deploy its ground troops in Afghanistan. India offered in Dubai that she is ready for military exercises jointly with Pakistan and NATO Troops after the USA withdrawal from Afghanistan. it is worth mentioning that India is there in Afghanistan to protect its interest. Furthermore, it must be stated that India is extending its Security Connections to Central Asia. India is the fourth state to have a military base in Central Asia after USA, Germany, and Russia. India spent 10 million dollars to complete her base named "Ayni" in Tajikistan in 2007. This base enables India to respond to any aggression from the land of Afghanistan or Pakistan (Khattak, 2011).

Given that a politically and economically stable Afghanistan is a strategic priority for India, India maintains that the ongoing effort to help Afghanistan emerge from war, strife, and privation is its responsibility as a regional power. Moreover, the consolidation of hard-won gains since the fall of the Taliban is also a strategic objective for Indian foreign policy. India also has a range of interests in Afghanistan that it would like to preserve and enhance, and it is towards this end that it has expanded its diplomatic energy in recent years. Peace is a vital and important necessity for Afghans, and India has supported inter-Afghan peace talks under the leadership and ownership of the Afghan people and Government, and as a regional power, the Indian government has always wanted a war-free and peaceful Afghanistan and is ready for to play an important and vital role in the process of Afghan peace talks. In November 2018, when Russia invited Taliban representatives to a meeting in Moscow where members of the Afghan High Peace Council and representatives of regional countries were invited, India sent two unofficial representatives to the meeting. In September 2020, Indian Foreign Minister Subra Manyam Jaishankar shared the talks between the representatives of Taliban and the negotiating team of the Afghan government in Doha at the opening meeting of the Afghan peace talks. From the USA's point of view, India happens to be one of the strong players in the region that has many interests in Afghanistan and has remained with the Afghan government compared to other regional players, and even the Taliban have welcomed India's role in this process. India provided direct financial aid in the Afghan peace process and had a direct relationship with the "Supreme Peace Council of Afghanistan." To make Afghanistan cooperate in the peace process.

The Five pillars of Maintaining Afghan Security the role of India

State-building in Afghanistan is linked to stability, development, and ensuring peace. Achieving Security requires a strategy that takes an element of state-building, the socio-economic, situation environment, and peace. The security crisis after the fall of the Taliban in 2001 has been considered to have experienced black history in the twentieth century (Spanta 2005: 79).

At the Group of Eight (G8) major donors' conference in Geneva in April 2002, the Security Sector Reform agenda for Afghanistan was formally set with the establishment of the "lead-nation system", which consisted of five pillars, each led and supported by a major donor state: 1. The US took on the "role of building the Afghan National Army" (ANA), 2. while Germany became the lead nation in "reconstructing the police force." 3. Similarly, Italy became the lead country for the judiciary, 4. Japan for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, and 5. the UK for counter-narcotics. However, no proper mechanism was established to harmonize the activities of the lead nations or to build synergies among them (Hodes and Sedra 2007: 52). There is no doubt that a mantra of state-building is "security first," The state-building endeavors were started by the international players in Afghanistan in 2001.

India is also as effective in rebuilding Afghan peace in the security sector; There were a lot of donations. India was one of the regional powers that supported Afghanistan's security and statebuilding- process after Western countries. India, as a strategic partner for Afghanistan, has provided financial and technical cooperation security. India has helped strengthen the security sector in Afghanistan from 2001-2014.

Police training, Army training, Intelligence, and information cooperation, Military scholarships, medical assistance for soldiers, Military equipment assistance, and assistance of warplanes. The Indian government has cooperated in other parts of Afghanistan, especially the people of Afghanistan have appreciated all the aid provided by the Indian government, and this assistance has been effective in strengthening the state-building over the past two decades. But after the withdrawal of led-US international forces from Afghanistan, the Taliban returned to power after two decades.

INDIA'S ASSISTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN ON POLITICAL ASPECT

The state of Afghanistan has been conditioned to foreign aid for the last centuries. First, the British East India Company paid off Afghanistan's Emirs to sustain good relationships in the region to enable trade roots and to preserve its hegemony and then the Soviet Union (Ahmed, 2019). Then

the United States and her allies after the attack in 2001. Hence aid remained the essential characteristic of Afghanistan despite being artificial. More significantly, it may be said in Afghanistan, the economy, infrastructure, and institutions were completely destroyed by wars, and it is highly dependent on foreign aid for reconstruction. Aid dependency is described as such when aid consists of about 10 percent of the GDP country, and in case of its non-availability, the country fails to perform its main functions. According to the 2018 estimates of the World Bank, present foreign aid to Afghanistan is consist of 40% of GDP of Afghanistan (Cooper, 2018).

The state is highly dependent on foreign aid to continue performing its functions. Many countries including India was giving aid to Afghanistan since 2001 aimed to stabilise the country, bring peace and stability, develop the state and enable the government to function properly. India has provided five billion dollars in aid to Afghanistan since 2001. Good relations and smooth partnership of India with Afghanistan are of great significance for India's both short and long-term political, economic, and security concerns. India is providing aid and all other possible help and support to Afghanistan to make it a stable, peaceful, and progressive country as it is in the best interest of India. New Delhi's objective is to have a friendly government in Kabul aimed to stop conspiracies of enemy countries and the usage of Afghan soil, protect itself from regional militancy active in Afghanistan against India, advance bilateral trade and make possible its access to Central Asian countries.

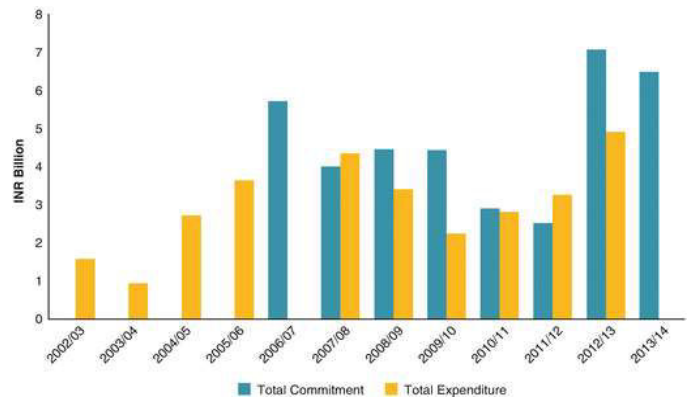
India's aid politics in Afghanistan is also aimed to improve friendly relations with Kabul and create a soft corner in the hearts of the masses of Afghanistan. New Delhi's role in the field of education and health sector is truly remarkable. As well as its role in the reconstruction of infrastructure and communication in the country is not only helping to connect various cities but also contributing to stability, trade facilitation, and peace because facilities and economic activities bring peace and stability in a war-torn country. It is making people-to-people contact easy and increasing economic activities and trade relations in the whole region. It is key to improving the overall lives of the people of both regions. The table below shows the kind of expenditure incurred by the Indian government in different institutions in Afghanistan for the purpose of an effective and efficient function of these institutions.

FINDINGS

1. In this paper we were made to understand that Indian Government had played a crucial role in revamping and restructuring entire Afghanistan into a new state. Notably, in the field of institution building, India spent a huge number of resources to ensure a smooth running of various institutions in Afghanistan.

Chart 1

Commitments and Expenditures, 2002–2013



Source: India's development cooperation with Afghanistan: commitments and expenditures, 2002/03–2013/14 Source: Rani Mullen.2014“IDCR Report: The State of Indian Development Cooperation. “New Delhi: Indian Development Cooperation Research, (Spring)

2. India as a close friend of Afghanistan has established a bilateral relationship with Afghanistan in the field of education thereby giving a scholarship to a number of Afghan citizens to pursue their education at both graduate and post-graduate levels.
3. In the restoration of peace in Afghanistan the paper revealed to us that India has made a strong contribution towards securing peace in Afghanistan thereby deploying its military forces in the country. It played an important role in the reconstruction process peace and security in Afghanistan.
4. Reconstruction of infrastructural facilities such as communication systems was made easy and possible. These facilities helped in making contact easy as revealed by this study and also contribute to stability, it facilitate trade and also brought people into face-to-face contact which contribute to peace and stability in the country.

CONCLUSION

This is the concluding section of the study. In Afghanistan, the economy, infrastructure, and institutions were completely destroyed by wars, therefore are highly dependent on foreign aid for reconstruction and rehabilitation. Development and restoration of peace and stability are not taking place mainly because of poor state institutions. Therefore, state-building is necessary for Afghanistan. The state-building process was weakened due to many factors including terrorism, corruption, insecurity, immobilization of important segments of society like women, middle and lower-middle classes, mobilization of the

elite class, a weak economy, local political culture, informal governance model, complex tribal society, warlordism, social evils, religious fundamentalism, and some conservative cultural values. After the Bonn agreement, many foreign countries, including India, started to play a role in the state-building process and provided aid to Afghanistan. As far as the role of India's aid is concerned, it has played an important role in the reconstruction process, peace process, and security. India has completed many significant projects in different sectors to rise the standard of living of the general masses, improve the economy and restore peace and stability in this war-torn state.

India's Assistance was undoubtedly extremely beneficial for Afghanistan as it targeted key institutions like education, health, infrastructure development, capacity building, and economic development that are central to the state-building process. Most important is the economic stabilization of Afghanistan through increasing its foreign trade with India and with other countries of the world via seaports. In addition, it might be said that India is playing an important role in the economic stabilization of Afghanistan to make it stable and protect it from failing again. A strong economy is key for state-building. From 2001 till now, India played a crucial role in the state-building and restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan. However, many Afghan scholars and common people have different opinions about the aid provided by India and its role in Afghanistan. This raises several questions, namely: Why the building-state process has not followed the right path until now? Why, once again, the building-state process in Afghanistan failed even though it had the support of the international community and regional powers like India? which requires further research. Nevertheless, it might be said that two major factors made the state-building process in Afghanistan fail, namely: Pakistan's interventions and the continuation of the Taliban's war with the government in Afghanistan.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Inefficient institutions in Afghanistan are the main reason for the lack of fulfilling the state-building objective. Therefore, India should positively increase capacity-building training for Afghan professionals and increase scholarships and training facilities for Afghan students and professionals.
- Afghanistan and India should establish institutional links for sustainable Development partnerships in all fields.
- Afghanistan seriously lacks good governance, considered a prerequisite for state-building. The Afghan government should take concrete steps for the training of officials by Indian trainers.
- Afghanistan needs a rapid response from India in the training of judges, lawyers, doctors, policy-makers, military

personnel, anti-narcotics forces, police, and teachers in specialized knowledge to improve governance and government capability, strengthen democracy, the rule of law, and economic reform.

- The people of Afghanistan and India can reciprocate their partners and trustworthiness in terms of historical links and accurate knowledge of each other. The Afghan government is faithful to the Indian government as a regional military and economic power as a friend in need.
- With the withdrawal of international forces from Afghanistan, the process of building-state failed. The Taliban came to power, and the Afghan peace process also ended in failure. Afghanistan's neighboring countries played a weakening role in this process. Now the people of Afghanistan have understood that they should make better use of India's aid in future in order to facilitate sustainable development.
- Both countries need confidence-building measures to overcome irritants, move on and focus on needed areas to build a strong and stable Afghanistan.
- The revenue collection system, which happens to be one of the main tasks of a state and is very important for the state-building process, is weak in Afghanistan. Therefore, it is strongly felt that India should help Afghanistan in this field on an emergency basis as India has a renowned revenue collection system.

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